The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

BENJAMIN S. JONES, EDITOR.

"NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS"

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The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

THE PERKY ABOLITIONISTS.

fluence on the slaves, and inspired them with son for an immediate dissolution of the Union. vague notions of freedom; hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This

PICTURE OF THE SOUTH.

ginary, extend and intensify itself, until it should a legal form. Only three days after my insugu-pervade the masses of the Southern people, then ration, the Supreme Court of the United States Its opponents contended that it conferred power which was confined to making requisitions on the the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest pur- factious temper of the times, that the correctness ed that under a fair construction of the instrument, with blessings and benefits, in all other respects, fore the people, and the question has given rise to In that mighty struggle between the first intellects purpose of removing the barrier, and in order to can long continue, if the necessary consequences angry political conflict throughout the country. of this or any other country, it never occurred to the parties to it habitually and hopelessly inscoure. our highest Constitutional tribunal to popular as vocates, to assert or even to intimate that their and execute its own laws without the intermediate severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period Legislatures with power to annul the sacred rights that any State felt herself aggrieved, she might ed by the Constitution of the United States.

er forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have stitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an General Government is constituted, and to the obthis distracted country. They alone can do it .- Union.

but little for good or evil, on such a momentous liebed over and over again by the Supreme Court has at command a physical force for executing the of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all a State would look more like a declaration of war palpable, and alarming infractions on the Court

Orders for the paper and letters containing In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistants of 1703 or 1850, both being substantially the money in payment for the same, should be addres-tance the Federal Government must be guilty of a same, the Fugitive Slave Law has been the law of The preamble to the Constitution of the United sed to Ann Pranson, Publishing Agent, Salem, deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of the land from the days of Washington until the States having expossed reference to the articles of columbiana County, Ohio.

Dowers not granted by the Constitution. The late present moment. Here, a clear case is preConfederation, states it was established in order to face: Secession is nothing more nor less than supposed practicability of using force against the

6.00 fears of the South that he will attempt to invade Let us wait for the overt act. that no probability exists of the passage of such to the government of the Union. The leng continued and intemperate interference present or the next Congress. Surely under these

causes, which may probably never again occur. - the Convention. In one form or another under the shall be perpetuated.

Union are now arrayed against each other, and the evil thereof." The day of evil may never second from the Union in accordance with the Con. peace, enter into any agreement of compact with combine in one solid column to resist him. the time has arrived so much dreaded by the Fath- come unless we shall rashly bring it upon our- stitution, and without any violation of the constiwr of His Country, when hostile geographical par- selves. It is alleged as one cause for immediate tutional rights of the other members of the con- in war unless actually invaded or in such immities have been formed. I have long foreseen, and secession that the Southern States are denied equal federacy; that as each became parties to the Union neat danger as will not admit of further delay. It is true that the Territorial Legislature of Union might be entirely broken into tragments in to support the Constitution. declaring that slavery is, and shall be forever pro- Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with its all its forms, Legislative, Executive and Judicial, be to render the homes and firesides of nearly half Those who have appealed from this judgment of any individual, either among its opponents or adment which could not directly upon the people,

been occupied in violent speeches on the neverbroadcast over the Union. How easy would it be trine from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long is not pretended that any clause in the Constitution

eign States. They, and they alone, are responsite execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. It ought to language of Mr. Madison, who has been called the ble before God and the world for the slavery exist- be remembered, however, that for these acts nei- Father of the Constitution, it was formed by the are not more responsible, and have no more right responsible; having been passed in violation of acting in their highest sovereign capacity, and ing among them. For this the people of the North ther Congress nor any President can be justly held States, that is by the people in each of the States, to interfere, than with similar institutions in Rusand Brazil.

and void. All the Courts, both State and Nation-which formed the State constitutions; nor is the all or any of their Federal obligations.

al, before whom the question has arisen, have, government of the United States, created by the Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance from the beginning, declared the Fugitive Slave Constitution, less a government, in the strictest

THE UNION INFERRENTIALLY PERPETUAL.

to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a service war. This agitation has ever since been not exist within their limits. This is an act of absolve themselves at will, without the consent of accountinged by the public press, by the proceedings of State and County Conventions, and County Conventions, and he absolute themselves then indeed to the process of the proceedings to insure the conventions and he absolute themselves at will, without the consent of accounting the received of the proceeding and powerful government, invested with all the account of the press, by the proceedings of State and County Conventions, and he absolute themselves at will, without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligation. Were it otherwise, then indeed the process of the process of the process of the press. This description is a produce at the horrors of a single State to my duty ware I not to express or the right of perition. To this we are also indeed the process of the process of the right of perition. The right of the people of a single State to and powerful government, invested with all the account of the press, and process or the right of the people of a single State to and powerful government, invested with all the account of the people of a single State to and powerful government, invested with all the account of the people of a single State to any process or the right of perition. The right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of perition. The right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or the right of the people of a single State to any process or t of State and County Conventions, and by abolition torial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed tions, hazards the liberty and Union, and happiness which its authority extends. Its framers never ermone and lectures. The time of Congress has would the equality of the States in the Territories of millions composing this and, cannot be acknowl-

had they any reason to imagine, that the Consti- into execution any one of these powers.

question; and this brings me to observe that the of the United States with perfect unanimity. It powers committed to it; was intended to be per- periods of the world's history. Under it old gov- than an infliction of punishment, and would proteelection of any one of our fellow citizens to the is founded upon an express provision of the Con- petual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of ernments have been destroyed, and under it new ably be considered by the party attacked, as a By the Executive Committee, of the Western AutiSiavery Society.

Siavery Society. pecially true if his election has been effected by a livered up to their masters. Without this provise and by the 13th article, it is expressly declared dependence, but the distinction must ever be observe. Upon his motion the clause was unanimously mere plurality, and not a majority of the people, ion, it is a well-known historical fact that the Con- that the articles of this Confederation shall be in- ed, that this is revolution against an established postponed, and was never. I believe, again present Communications intended for insertion, to and has resulted from transient and temporary slicution itself could never have been adopted by evitably observed by every State, and the Union government, and not a voluntary secession from ted. it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right.

Presidential election, however, has been held in acuted in which it will be the duty of the next form a more perfect Union, does not include the revolution. It may or it may be be justifiable unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would strict conformity with its express provisions .- President, as it has been my own, to act with vigor essential attribute of perpetuity, but that the Un-We occasionally send numbers to those who How then can the result justify a revolution to in executing this supreme law against the coulder ion was designed to be perpetual, appears conclusively meaning the then are not subscribers, but who are believed to be destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice ting enactments of State Legislatures. Should be sively from the nature and extent of the powers by solemn oath before God and the country to take interested in the dissemination of Anti-Slavery and regard for the Constitution on the federal government of this high duty, he will conferred by the constitution on the federal government of the constitution on the federal government of the constitution of the cons trath, with the hope that they will either subscribe we shall wait for some overt and dangerous not then have manifested a disregard of the Constituthemselves or use their influence to extend its on the part of the President elect before resorting tion and laws to the great injury of the people of attributes of national sovereignty. They place man power. But what if the performance of this is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of nearly one-half of the States of the Union. But both the sword and the purse under its control. - duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered im the Constitution. Support such a war should reare we to presume in advance that he will thus Congress has power to make war and to make practicable by events over which he could have solt in the conquest of a State, how are we to gov-It is said however, that the antecedents of the violate his duty? This would be at war with eve- peace, to raise and support armies and navies, and exercised no control? Such at the present mo ern it afterwards? Shall we hold it as a province President elect have been sufficient to justify the ty principle of justice-of Christian charity .- to conclude treaties with foreign governments, ment is the case throughout the State of South and govern it by a despotic power? In the na-It is invested with the power to coin money and Carolina. So far as the laws of the United States ture of things we could not by physical force con-Two Squares six months, - - 5.00 their Constitutional rights; but are such appress to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate com- to secure the administration of justice by the Fed- trol the will of the record to the results for the results of the results one year, - - 8.00 hensions of contingent danger in the future softi- execution in every contested case since the comcient to justify the immediate destruction of the mencement of the present administration, though States. It is not necessary to commerce the other duties depending up-12.00 noblest system of Government ever devised by often, it is to be regretted, with great loth and in- or high powers which have been conferred upon those laws could be carried into execution, have of changing monthly, on their own relation, and required from the free mortals. From the very nature of his office and convenience and with considerable expense to the the Federal Government. In order to carry the already resigned. We have no longer a District citizens of a free State as a constitutional members. Last Column, changing monthly, - 20,000 lits high responsibilities he must necessarily be Government. Let us trust that the State Legisla- enumerated powers into effect, Congress possessed the confederacy. But if we possessed the Cards not exceeding eight lines will be incompletely conservative. The stern duty of administering tures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxthe vast and complicated councils of this Governlow Advertisements for patent medicines, speciment affords in itself a guarantee that he will not
the vast and complicated councils of this Governlow Advertisements for patent medicines, speciment affords in itself a guarantee that he will not
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there high received ment affords in itself a guarantee that he will not
existing circumstances? The object would be Advertisements for patent mentaffords in itself a guarantee that he will not unnecessary delay it is impossible for any human these high powers upon Congress, but it has ador-justice among the people, has been demolished, doubtless to preserve the Union, but would not attempt any violation of a clear Constitutional power to save the Union. The Southern States, ted effectual means to restrain the States from in- and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to re- only present the most effectual means of destroys right. After all he is no more than the Chief Ex- standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a terfering with their exercise for that purpose. It place it. The only acts of Congress on the statecutive officer of the Government. His province is right to demand this net of justice from the States has in strong prohibitory language expressly denot to make, but execute its laws, and it is a re- of the North. Should it be refused them, the clared, that no State shall enter into any treaty of the 28th February, 1795, and 3d March, 1807. a vast amount of blood and treasure would be exmarkable fact in our history that, notwithstanding Constitution, to which all the States are parties, alliance or confederation, grant letters of marque These authorize the President, after he shall have Lended, rendering future reconciliation between the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no will have been wilfully violated by one portion of and reprisal, coin money, emit bills of credit, ascertained that the Marshal with his posse comsingle act has ever passed Congress, unless we them, in a provision essential to the domestic secu- make anything but gold and silver coin a tender mitatus is unable to execute civil or criminal pro- can foretell what would be the sufferings and primay possibly except the Missouri Compromise, im- rity and happiness of the remainder. In that in payment of debts, pass any bill of attainder, cess in any particular case, to call forth the mili-We give this week some passages from Buchan- pairing in the slightest degree the rights of the event the injured States, after having first used all ex post fact is that our Union rests upon public opinion; an's recent message, and have so divided it that South to their property in slaves. And it may peaceful and Constitutional means to obtain red- of contracts. Moreover, without the consent of performing the service, baving first, by proclams and can never be comented by the blood of its the topics upon which it treats can be seen at a also be observed, judging from present indications, ress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties tion, commanded the insurgents to disperse and citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the on any imports or exports except what may be ab- return peaceably to their respective abodes within the affections of the people, it must one day peran act by a majority of both Houses either in the secresson. NULLIFICATION. GEN. JACESSON. Solutely necessary for executing its inspection a limited time. This duty cannot, by any possi- ish. Congress possesses many means of preserv-I have purposely confined my remarks to revolu- laws, and if they exceed this amount the excesses billity, be performed in a State where no Judicial ing by conciliation; but the sword was not placed of the Northern people with the question of slave- circumstances we ought to be restrained from pres- denary resistance, because it has been claimed shall belong to the United States, and more there in their bands to preserve it by force. But may ry in the Southern States, bas at length produced ent action by the precent of Him who spake as within the last few years, that any State, whenever shall without the consent of Congress lay duty on is no Marshal to execute, and where, even if there I be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen its natural effects. The different sections of the never man spake, that "sufficient unto the day is it shall be her sovereign will and pleasure, may tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of were such an officer, the entire population would to pause, and deliberate before they determine to

how inadequate they are without further legisla- of our Fathers, by the glories of our past, and by often forewarned my countrymen of the now imrights with the other States in the common terriby the vota of its own people assembled in conventorics. But by what authority are these denied?
This does not proceed solely torics. But by what authority are these denied?
State, not to speak of other States who may place made us the most prosperous, and ere long will, from the claim on the part of Congress or the Ter- Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I Union in a similar manner, by the vote of such a sition, It is provided that the Constitution, and the themselves in a similar attitude. Congress alone if preserved, render us the most powerful nation ritorial Logislatures to exclude slavery from the believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from the believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from the believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from the believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from the from these territories; and certainly not by the constitutional remedy, it must be on the principle pursuance thereof, and all treatment from these territories; and certainly not by the to defeat the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.

All or any of these evils might have been endured slaves are property, and like all other property, association of States, to be discoved at pleasure.

Supreme Court which has solumnly decided that the federal Government is a more voluntary shall be made under the authority of the United that the objects of the Constitution. The same insuper States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and able obstacles do not lie in the way of executing.

In every foreign region of the globe the title of by the South, without danger to the Union, as their owners have a right to take them into the by one of the contracting parties. If this be so, others have been, in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril

of the Constitution or laws of any State

the confederacy is a rope of sand, and to be peneto the confederacy is a rope of sand, and to be penetion might apply the remedy. The immediate peril

of the Constitution or laws of any State

the confederacy is a rope of sand, and to be peneto the contracting parties. It this be so,

anything in the Constitution or laws of any State

revenue still continues to be collected as hereioto the contracting parties. It this be so,

the laws for the confederacy is a rope of sand, and to be penerevenue still continues to be collected as hereioto the contracting parties. It this be so,

the laws for the confederacy is a rope of sand, and to be penerevenue still continues to the contracting parties.

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The laws for the laws for the laws for t arises, not so much from these causes, as from the Congress is concerned, the objection is not to any-public opinion in any of the States. In this man-should the collector unfortunately resign, a suc-pride. Surely, when we reach the brink of the fact that the violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign inbility, whenever any sudden excitement might cial officers, both of the United States and the sev- for a fair equivalent, by the consent of the Legis- out the world would be destroyed, and a long night impel them to such a course; by this process a cral States, shall be bound by outh or affirmation lature of the State, for the erection of forts, mag- of leaden despotism would ensbroud the nation. feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of service insurrection.

In order to carry into effect these laws, the Constitution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the control of the distribution has cetablished as described in the control of the Many a matron throughout the South, retires at hibited in the ferritory. Such an act, however, history, as it was feared with the greatest delitmany a marron throughout the Bould, restress at most of more than the plainty violating the rights of property secured errtion and care, it was submitted to conventious acts upon the individual citizens of every State, if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer alternative. This ought to be the last desperate children before the morning. Should this appre- by the Constitution; will surely be declared void of the people of the several States for ratification, and executes its own decrees by the agency of its in the command of the forts has received orders to remedy of a despairing people, after every other hension of domestic danger, whether real or ima- by the Judiciary whenever it shall be presented in its provisions were discussed at length in these own officers. In this respect it defiers entirely and act atrictly on the defensive. In such a contini- constitutional means of conciliation had been exdisunion will be inevitable. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in a Territorial Legislature. Yet such has been the rights of the States, whilst its advocates maintain. poses, and no political union, however fraught of this decision has been extensively impugned be- there was no foundation for such apprehensions. — requisitions. It thus became necessary, for the tween the Federal Government and South Caroli- nating point; but if, in the midst of the existing

Sooner or later the bonds of such a union must be semblies, would if they could, invest Territorial efforts were all vain labor, because the moment agency of the States, This would be to invest a mere Executive officer edy for existing evils which the Constitution has with the power of recognizing the disclution of the itself provided for its own preservation. This has has not yet arrived, and my prayer to God is that has not yet arrived, and my prayer to God is that has not yet arrived, and my prayer to God is that has not yet arrived, and my prayer to God is that has not yet arrived, and my prayer to God is that has proved against those who forbidden by the Federal Constitution and the Union, and drawing its authority from the sover-beautifulon, and drawing its authority from the sover-beautiful from the sover-beautiful for the sover-beautiful from the throughout all generations. But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger.

THE MEDDLESONE NORTH.

States. But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of the States would be exercise it. It cannot cudangered by the Constitution? The truth is, people of all the States in the enumerated cases, be exercised in any State, except by the people in that, it was not until many years after the origin.

States. It has no resemblance to the recognition tory and always with eminent success. It is to dreaded that the rights of the States would be ciscle the same right to exercise its power over the by its own Constitution? The truth is, ciscly the same right to exercise its power over the by its own Constitution to exercise it. It cannot cudangered by the Constitution? The truth is, people of all the States in the enumerated cases, been proposed by two-thirds of both Houses of THE MEDDLESCHE NORTH.

THE MEDLESCHE NORTH.

THE MEDDLESCHE NORTH. colated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the purpose of framing a constitution, prefato- transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South the United States is as much a part of the Constitution, prefato- transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of the purpose of framing a constitution, prefato- transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of the purpose of framing a constitution, prefato- transmitting the nullifying ordinance of South the United States is as much a part of the Constitution of the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the purpose of the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the country is indebted for the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the country is indebted for the purpose of the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the country is indebted for the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the purpose of the purpose of the purpose of the purpose of the country is indebted for the purpose of character to excite the passions of the slaves—and to the Union. Then, Carolina to Congress, employs the following land to the leaves—and and not notify the next that interest as a bound and not notify the next that interest as a bound and not notify the next that interest as a bound and not notify the next that interest as a bound and not notify the next that interest as a bound and not notify the next that interest as a bound and not notify the next that interest as a bound as a State into the Union. Then, in the leaves—and and not notify the next that interest as a bound as a State into the Union. character to excite the passions of the slaves—and in the language of Gen. Jackson, to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a decide the question whether slavery shall or shall to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a decide the question whether slavery shall or shall and not until theo, are they invested with power to guage:

The right of the people of a single State to and nowerful government, invested with all the myself recreant to my duty were I not to express or the right of petition. To this we are also in-

own destruction; nor were they, at its creation, tion delegated to Congress the power to force a entertained by the friends of State rights at that ending subject, and appeals in pamphlet, and oth-It was not intended by its framers to be the eracy? If answered in the affirmative, it must be been sent forth from this central point, and spread irresponsible territorial legislature. Such a doc- jects which it was expressely formed to attain. It baseless fabric of a vision, which, at the touch of on the principle that the power has been conferred for the American people to settle the slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to it afford a good reason for a dissaolution of the founded upon inference, not from any language contained in the instrument itself, but from the sourcing character of the several States by which storms of ages. Indeed, well may jealous patriots delegated to Congress or to any other department ry, 1803. This amendment was rendered necessa-All that is necessary to accomplish this object, and all which the slave States have ever contended for, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their duty which have yet been committed consist in the states and wisely did they adopt the specific and which the states are contended for the formula of the federal Government. It is manifest, upon by the first day have indulged fears, that a government of the federal Government. It is manifest, upon by the first day have indulged fears, that a government of the federal Government of domestic institutions in their own way, as sover- acts of different State Legislatures to defeat the sovereign rights to secure the remainder." In the to prevent the danger; but they did not fear, nor exercise is not necessary and proper for carrying to procure the amicable adjustment of the conflict-

AN HISTORIC PACT.

tion which framed the Constitution.

Without their aid Law to be constitutional. The single exception is sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter that of a State Court in Wisconsin, and this has than the governments created by the Constitution of the force of the whole against a ship and conclusively defended the resolutions of what may be his own political proclivities, to re- not only been reversed by the proper appellate of the States are within their several spheres. It pression of the Federal Government? By no delinquent State came up for consideration. Mr. the preceding Legislature against the strictures of store peace and harmony among the States. Wise- tribunal, but has met with such universal reproba- is like them organized into Legislative, Executive means. The right of resistance on the part of Madison opposed it in a brief, but powerful several other State Legislative, Executive means. ly limited and restrained as is his power under our tion that there can be no danger from it as a pre- and Judiciary departments. It operates like them the governed against the oppression of their gev- speech, from which I shall extract but a single mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia

Soon after, on the 8th of June, 1787, when indestroy this, the grandest temple, which has ever The mere resistance of these provisions proves world began. It has been consecrated by the blood

szines, arsenals, &c., and over these the authority Our example for more than eighty years would believed that any attempt will be made to expel It is not every wrong, pay, it is not every grievous gency, the responsibility for consequences would hausted. We should reflect that under this free rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants, government there is an incresant ebb and flow of thority to decide what shall be the relations be- that it has already reached and passed the culmina. He has been invested with no such discre- excitement, the Union shall perish, the evil may tion. He possesses no power to change the relation become irreparable. Congress can contribute tions heretofore existing between them, much less much to arrest it, by proposing and recommending to acknowledge the independence of that state, to the Legislatures of the several States the remdebted for the bill of rights which secured the people against any abuse of power by the Federal

whether the Constitution could have long survived without these amendments.

Again the Constitution was amended by the same process after the election of President Jefing Constitutional questions, like the present, which might arise between the Governments of So far from this power having been delegated to the States and of the United States. This appears of her sister States, to discharge her people from Congress, it was expressly refused by the Convention from contemporaneous history. In this connection, I shall merely call attention to a few instan-It appears from the proceedings of that body, on ces in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report, in Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish cedent. The validity of this law has been estab- directly on persons and things, and like them it cruments, cannot be denied: it exists independent sentence. He observed "the use of force against Legislature against the alien and sedition acts as